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ABSTRACT

The review of the literature related to newspaper reading presented in this paper provides a useful background to educators seeking to broaden their understanding of newspaper research and its implications for classroom practice. The research is divided into readability studies, readership studies, and cognition, comprehension, and text analysis studies. It covers such topics as (1) typography, (2) newspaper design, (3) trends in readership, (4) play theory of newspaper reading, (5) frame analysis of news, and (6) text analysis of newspaper reading. A section containing implications and conclusions of the review and an 11-page bibliography are included. (HOD)

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RESEARCH ON THE READING OF NEWSPAPERS

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INTRODUCTION

According to figures from the American Newspaper Publishers Association, over 100 million Americans read a newspaper every day (1983). People of every occupation and age in all parts of the United States--from the commuter to the prisoner, from the political leader to the tenant farmer--depend on a daily newspaper for entertainment and information.

But what do we know about the reading of newspapers? What research has been conducted to document this daily ritual? And, given that the newspaper is often cited as a rare bargain in an inflated economy, a bargain which can be easily discarded, recycled, or used for everything from papier-mache to birdcage liners, who has cared enough about newspaper reading to research it?

During the 1960's and 1970's--as interest in the political and social implications of illiteracy grew at the same time that newspaper circulation figures fell--numerous studies were commissioned to document the reading level of texts published in print media (readability studies) as well as the habits, preferences, and attitudes of readers (readership studies). Scores on newspaper-based cloze tests were cited in definitions of literacy (Bormuth, 1969; Carroll and Chall, 1975; Smith, 1977) and studies were conducted to document the effects of reading instruction that used newspapers (Diederich, 1971; Berryman, 1971, 1974).

Research findings on the reading of newspapers were reported in publications of the newspaper industry, journalism education, communications, and the teaching of reading. Marketing and circulation planners from the newspaper business and media enthusiasts in the fields of communications and sociology made contributions, along with professors and students of journalism and curriculum developers and reading teachers in education. Perhaps the

most fascinating recent work has come from cognitive psychologists and text linguists who have begun to investigate newspaper text in light of schema theory and discourse analysis.

Since research in the reading of newspapers is of interdisciplinary interest, the findings of studies from several fields offer insight and implications to educators who practice the use of newspapers in classrooms as "real world" teaching/learning tools. While a comprehensive review of the literature related to newspaper reading is beyond the scope of the present paper, the sketch of research categories which follows should provide useful background to educators seeking to broaden their understanding of newspaper research and its implications for classroom practice.

READABILITY STUDIES

Prior to World War II, there had been little communication between the worlds of education and journalism about the use of newspapers in classrooms. During the Great Depression, a few secondary teachers in New York City had inquired about using The New York Times as a substitute for textbooks. They received the support of Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger, grandparent of the current publisher, and the first student subscriptions began to appear in schools.¹ In 1941 Edgar Dale wrote his now-classic How to Read a Newspaper, but little was known about how people actually got information from newspaper articles.

What was known during the first half of this century was largely the work of a few psychologists who became interested in the "thresholds" of light, distance, and focus necessary for reading newspapers. They began using tachistoscopes and visibility meters to control the amount of time a reader could look at a piece of text from a newspaper as well as the amount of light available. In addition, they wanted to know the number of blinks per minute a reader made as a measure of eye fatigue under a variety of conditions.²

Researchers in Europe such as Sir Cyril Burt of England and Bror Zachrisson of Sweden were conducting similar work, but in America, Professor Miles Tinker and his associates at the University of Minnesota led the way. Since a great deal of confusion had arisen over the meaning of terms such as readability, visibility, and legibility, Tinker preferred the phrase "legibility of print" to distinguish his study of letter and word form perception in continuous reading from "readability formulas" measuring difficulty of reading material.

Research in Typography

Working with Donald Patterson, Miles Tinker conducted a

series of projects to apply research in typography to print appearing in newspapers (Tinker and Patterson, 1932, 1943, 1944, 1946). Perhaps the most interesting debate on newspaper typography in which Tinker became involved was the question of whether to publish headlines in all-capitals or in lower-case type. Although they had previously demonstrated that lower-case type was read 13.4% faster than all capitals and 2.8% faster than italics (1928), Patterson and Tinker realized they would have to work directly with text from newspapers to come up with experimental results to convince editors and others in the newspaper industry.³

In order to study single-column headlines, readers were asked to view five-word headlines of uniform length and type face taken from The New York Times. Each of the 120 headlines was printed twice, once in capitals and once in lower case. In separate procedures, one group viewed the headlines for 1/20 second at a distance of 15 inches and the other, for 1/5 second at 5 1/2 feet. At the 15 inch distance, lower-case headlines proved to be 18.9% more legible, while at the five 1/2 feet distance, the lower case and all-capital headlines were found to be equally legible with only 0.3% difference.

Another experiment explored legibility of capitals versus lower-case printing of multi-column or "banner" headlines in newspapers. Participants viewed five-word examples from Minneapolis newspapers from distances varying between 6 feet, 2 inches and 17 feet. Exposure time was 1 second. Results showed superior legibility for lower-case headlines when read at distances of 6 to 7 feet. This, Tinker said, was about the distance from which editors expect readers to view banner headlines when passing newsstands. If Rupert Murdoch's New York City and Boston tabloids are any indication, Miles Tinker hasn't always been listened to.⁴

Their heyday that legibility research enjoyed during the 1930's and 1940's has now passed, but researchers have come up with new angles for studying the effects of typography on

reading. The advent of "cold type" computerized typesetting opened many possibilities since few mechanical restrictions are left with photographic processing. More typefaces in more varieties and sizes have become available. Anything that can be photographed might serve as copy for "offset" lithography.

A good example of applied research in newspaper typography stemming from electronic typesetting came up during the early 1970's when executives at the Minneapolis Tribune inquired about the usefulness of changing from Roman to a modern sans serif type. Researchers at the American Newspaper Publishers Association Research Center tested and interviewed two hundred informants of various ages. Results showed that half of the readers read Roman type significantly faster, while none read sans serif type significantly faster. Every age group in the sample stated clear preferences for Roman type (Havistendahl and Kahl, 1975). From all indications, adoption of sans serif has continued in the magazine industry, but has not proved to be a significant trend in the newspaper field. Perhaps some in the newspaper industry has listened.

Just as new technologies have revolutionized practices in typography in recent years, changing social issues have also had effect. During the early 1970's when journal editors and textbook publishers were issuing guidelines on bias and sexism, concern for the treatment of minority groups and women in newspaper stories also grew. Communications specialists Jack Haskins of the University of Tennessee and Lois Flynn of San Francisco State College decided to investigate the use of "feminine" headline typefaces on women's pages (1974). With advice from Dr. Edmund Arnold, another well-respected authority on newspaper design, Haskins and Flynn rated typefaces as "highly feminine" or "highly masculine". Their choices were used on examples of women's pages prepared for the study. One hundred-fifty female household heads, grouped to represent a

five-tiered socio-economic stratum, were interviewed in Syracuse, New York. Haskins and Flynnne found that two typefaces, Coronet Light and Garamond Italic--which are frequently used on headlines of women's pages--were perceived as having "feminine" characteristics. No difference was found, however, in reader interest between versions of the same page set in "feminine" and "masculine" types. Typefaces used on women's pages, they concluded, really made no difference to readers.

Another approach to typographic research was initiated by Percy Tannenbaum of the Mass Communications Research Center at the University of Wisconsin. Tannenbaum wanted to know if typefaces themselves have some communication capacity: Do they constitute a code, however rudimentary, capable of communicating different meanings between two or more people?

Tannenbaum and his students conducted an experiment in which three groups of readers, varying in their knowledge and experience with typography, were asked to rate physical attributes of a set of standardized typefaces. Each subject rated 16 displays of type--four families, presented in lower case regular, upper case regular, lower case italic, and upper case italic.⁵ Ratings by participants were made using factor loadings from semantic differential studies.⁶ Findings revealed a fairly high degree of similarity in semantic judgements of typefaces, suggesting an adequate basis for connotative communication between users of typography and their readers. Also, a fairly high degree of agreement in judgement was observed between members of rating groups, with the greatest agreement (relative factor salience) between members of the group most familiar with typographic work (Tannenbaum, Jacobson, and Norris, 1964).

Studies such as these exploring connotative capacities of typefaces raise interesting implications for newspaper designers since it is the "typographic dress"--indeed, the overall "face" of a newspaper--which speaks first to readers. Daily newspaper readers expect some regularity, some degree of

continuity, in the appearance of the medium upon which they depend for information

Arthur Turnbull and Russell Baird of Ohio University illustrate the importance of newspaper typography and design in their discussion of "communication graphics" in The New York Times (1975). Its typographic dress, they hold, bespeaks the character of its news policy. Its headline patterns, holdovers from a bygone era, tell readers that "The Times" is an institution of long standing. Nothing in the face of the Times tries to lure the masses who may be more interested in film stars than foreign policy. Instead, Turnbull and Baird maintain, the balanced, dignified and dull arrangement of material on the Times' front page speaks: "Here is all the news if you have the intellect, the sophistication, and the time to dig it out." The face of a newspaper, then, is the combination of verbal and graphic elements in the typography and design of the front page.

Research in Newspaper Design

A brief look at the history of newspaper design⁷ takes us back to the newsprint shortages before and during the first and second world wars. Each time the cost of newsprint went up, editors of the metropolitan dailies who were the most affected, considered changing from an eight- to a nine-column format, using columns of 12 1/2 or 12 picas rather than the previous 13 picas. Page size was also cut by amounts ranging from 7/8 to 1 1/6 inches.

As these and other economic measures were proposed, reaction from readers was needed. In a controlled study conducted in Minneapolis, Thomas F. Barnhart and Robert L. Jones (1953) reported that readers interviewed were often unable to give the number of columns on pages of the newspaper which they usually read. Of those who stated preferences, most preferred 8-column front pages over 9-column front pages.

by a ratio of about 2 to 1, and 3 to 1 for inside pages. Readers wearing glasses expressed no systematic preference differences. Barnhart and Jones concluded that readers did not appear to have strong feelings about column number and page size, but seemed more concerned that the newspaper be printed clearly and that the size of type not be reduced.

Although many practices in newspaper design are dictated by custom and deadline time constraints, trends toward innovation during the 1960's and 1970's can be identified. Editors and publishers have continually sought data on reader reaction before making major design decisions.⁸ In a report presented to the annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism in 1979, Chic Bain and David Weaver stated the results of four experiments devised to test reader reaction to newspaper design techniques, including the use of "jumps" on front pages, the presence and size of photographs illustrating stories, the use of "wrapping" methods to enclose graphics or other items within the body of a text in a column, and the variation of typefaces used in headlines. Among their findings, Bain and Weaver (1979) found: (1) more readers will finish a story if it is all on the same page, although they are just as likely to start a story that jumps as one which doesn't; (2) larger pictures attract readers to stories more than do smaller ones; and (3) readers prefer "straight wrap" columns of equal depth.

A number of studies have explored the frequency of modern design adoption and reader preferences (Stone, 1974; Stone, et al, 1978; Siskind, 1979). Using four front page design types (traditional, well-designed traditional, contemporary, and well-designed contemporary),¹⁰ Theresa Siskind found that readers preferred the "well-designed" front page types and that the "well-designed contemporary" was the most preferred.

In their study of trends in design changes, Gerald Stone, John Schweitzer, and David Weaver (1979) coded graphic features of newspapers from ninety-five American cities.¹¹ Modern

design adoption, they found, was associated with a higher percentage of street sales rather than home delivery and a greater city zone total circulation as opposed to outer zone circulation. These researchers speculated that modern newspaper design is being used not to aid regular readers, but to attract new ones.

Readability Research

Since modern production techniques move article copy electronically from one department of a newspaper to another (editorial - composing - engraving - printing), most staff writers and reporters probably feel little responsibility for the graphic design of their product. John Smith and Maxwell McCombs of the University of California, Los Angeles and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, respectively, postulate that the one area where the writer has almost complete control over the appearance of a story is in "the graphics of use" (1971). Using the Flesch Readability Scale, they coded four versions of the same story with varying amounts of "white space" as either "very difficult" or "easy." Their results showed reader preference for the two versions with greater amounts of white space. Initial perception and decision to read are positively associated with greater white space. Subsequent understanding or comprehension of the content, however, were not.

To test effects of hyphenation, justification and type size variation on readability of newspaper text, John Davenport and Stewart Smith of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers created a "dummy" newspaper call The National Enterprise. Eight format versions were presented to 408 adults who were observed for the following variables: total words read, time spent reading, speed of reading per minute, accuracy, and comprehension. Based on their findings, Davenport and Smith (1965) concluded that typography does not have a significant effect on readership, and hyphenation, justification, and

type size do not affect how much, how quickly, or how accurately newspapers are read.

Has newspaper readability changed during this century? Gilbert Fowler analyzed 270 one hundred-word samples from The Chicago Tribune, The New York Times and The Commercial Appeal of Memphis, Tennessee, which had been published in 1904, 1933, and 1965. Using Flesch's readability formula, Fowler (1978) found the highest readability of his samples were those from the year 1933, and the 1965 samples were equally as readable as those from 1904. In additional work with Edward Smith comparing text samples from magazines and novels published during the same years, Fowler found other popular print genres to be easier to read than newspapers.

Not everyone, however, is satisfied that readability formulas are useful in measuring the degree of reading difficulty of newspaper text. James Abbott (1983) of the Maine Department of Educational and Cultural Services, compared grade-level ratings for the same article using seven different readability scales.¹² He found a range of over six grade levels. Since some readability ratings for newspapers have been based on averages between levels for newspaper features varying widely in reading difficulty, i.e. comics and editorials Abbott cautioned that not all scales may be appropriate for evaluating newspaper texts. The multiple definitions of readability and difficult used by the formulas were cited as compounding the problem of applying traditional readability scales to text in newspapers.

Numerous writers have advocated and extolled the use of newspapers as "real world" materials for reading programs in schools (Wilson, 1967; Wood, 1971; Riggs, 1972; Wardell, 1973; Hirshoren, Hunt and Davis, 1974; Manning, 1978; Johns and Wheat, 1978; Griffin, 1979; Heitzmann, 1979; West, 1979; DeRoach, 1981; Cheyney, 1983).¹³ Occasionally, however, opposition to use of newspaper text in classroom activities has been reported. Based on her analysis of wire service copy

readability. Carolyn Reiley, a remedial reading specialist in Chula Vista, California, questioned the value of Newspaper in Education programs (1974). She felt that since the reading level of her samples were over the heads of both elementary and secondary readers, newspapers were almost "useless" as remedial reading tools.

The overwhelming support for Newspaper in Education programs, however, seems to prevail. Professor Edward DeRoache, Dean of the School of Education at the University of San Diego, has twice reviewed the literature on Newspaper in Education (DeRoache, 1981; DeRoache and Skover, 1983). His conclusion is that daily newspapers are valuable aids in helping young and adult learners master skills of reading. Based on figures reported by DeRoache, an estimated 44.6 million newspapers are distributed per year to 1 out of every 5 schools, 1 out of every 20 teachers, and 1 out of every 10 students in this country. As the concept of using newspapers in schools continues to expand, the exchange of ideas, information, and research between professionals in the fields of journalism and education should be encouraged so that teachers may have access to findings from both fields of study.

READERSHIP STUDIES

Definition of Readership Research

Before examining text features of newspaper discourse, we should take a look at ways readers of newspapers themselves have been studied. "Readership" researchers gather data and look for patterns in newspaper reader behavior. In their review of such studies, Judee and Michael Burgoon (1980) pointed out that most readership studies are of two types. Functional research explores the ways readers use a newspaper, what gratifications it fulfills, how it fits into their lifestyles, and what attitudes they hold toward it. Structural studies, on the other hand, focus on demographic or social characteristics of readers.¹⁴

Research designs have tended to depend on available sponsorship as well as staff size and expertise. Readership projects have usually included several predictors (variables), and population size and geographic range of the participant sample have been planned to allow the largest possible base for generalizations. Telephone survey has become the most popular method of gathering readership data in recent years (Weaver and Mauro, 1978).

Trends in Readership Research

Since a wealth of readership research has accumulated--those conducted by individual researchers as well as those with corporate, foundation, or academic sponsorship--in addition to local market studies typically conducted by media affiliates or marketing research organizations, the current trend seems to be toward synthesis and refinement of existing data. Between 1977 and 1983 the Newspaper Readership Project¹⁵ sponsored a coordinated readership research effort to develop resources for the newspaper industry. Similarly, the American Newspaper Publishers Association's News Research Center in Syracuse, New York formed the "NRC Mining Company" to collect

and organize its own readership data, comparing morning and evening newspaper readers, subscribers and non-subscribers, and regular and occasional readers (Mohn, 1982).

The Newspaper Readership Project has sponsored readership research with youth populations to document attitude changes of students before and after participating in Newspaper in Education programs (Anderson, 1983). Using test populations in schools in Richmond, Virginia, and San Francisco, California, Thelma Anderson found that attitudes of students who used newspapers in class consistently showed positive changes in reading behavior, in interest and knowledge of current events, and in attitudes toward newspapers in general.¹⁶ In additional research, Anderson examined the relationship between childhood exposure to newspapers on adult reading habits (1977) and the attitudes of parents and children about using newspapers in school (1980).

In other studies targeting the age of readers as a predictor of readership, children and adolescents have received considerable scrutiny by media researchers and educators. Greaney (1980) reviewed research on leisure time of students in Britain and the United States. Three categories of reading--book, comic book, and newspaper--were compared. He found that substantially more time was devoted to book than to comic book reading and little time was spent reading newspapers. In assessing the effects of television on leisure reading, Greaney postulated that the pronounced negative correlation of television viewing with comic book reading might indicate that television meets fantasy needs better than comic books do. Books and newspapers, conversely, were associated with reality needs and, therefore, were not affected by television viewing.

In a similar study comparing the reading interests of inner city vocational high school students with those in a suburban comprehensive high school, strong interest in newspaper reading was consistently reported by almost all

participants, even those with little or no interest in reading other forms of print publications. Elliott and Steinkellner (1979) found no highly negative responses to any of six items about the newspaper with between 90 and 100% of students in both types of schools expressing a positive attitude toward reading newspapers in general and in reading the front page. Positive interests were also expressed by between 80 and 90% in reading newspaper comics and local interest stories.

In a study funded by Gannett, Co., Inc., the Burgoons were able to include seventeen potential predictors of readership. They interviewed 4,020 respondents in a sample of households in four Gannett newspaper markets (Poughkeepsie, New York; Fort Myers, Florida; Springfield, Missouri; and Reno, Nevada).

The most consistent predictor of readership they found was satisfaction with the newspaper. Income and age were also significant in all four markets. No single variable studied, however, was found to have a significant relationship to readership in general. This study on readership predictors was one of a series sponsored by the Gannett Company, which allocated two million dollars for research preparing for publication of a newspaper with a nationwide market base, USA Today.¹⁷

Professor John Robinson, director of the Survey Research Center at the University of Maryland (1980), compiled data gathered between 1946 and 1977 by several survey organizations on newspaper reading. He found that the decline of the daily newspaper habit had been evident during the 1950's and early 1960's, but the greatest drop occurred between 1967 and 1977. "Primary activity" figures on time spent reading during the decade of 1965-1975, according to Robinson, indicated an increase in reading of both books and magazines. Fewer people read newspapers, however, and those who did read for shorter time periods.

As one writer has put it, the declining circulation

figures of newspapers in the United States during the past two decades has resulted in a virtual orgy of readership studies. The reader has been examined from almost every angle. Although this review cannot provide a comprehensive picture of the goings on, at least a sampling has been possible.

COGNITION, COMPREHENSION, AND TEXT ANALYSIS

Having reviewed the studies of newspaper reading focusing on typography, readability, and newspaper design, as well as those exploring the preferences and habits of readers, we now come to discussions of what happens when the print, or text, and the reader interact.

"Play Theory" of Newspaper Reading

The cognitive processes occurring during a "news reading event" have been approached from several quite different points of view. Theorists in the communications field have looked at "newsreading" as a form of play. It can be characterized ethnographically as a pleasurable but disinterested state created by the reader while reading. William Stephenson (1967) described newsreading as a voluntary act, an "interlude" or an escape, which is satisfying in itself. The reader, Stephenson explained, imposes a certain order while involved in direct self-identification, projecting personally into the stories being read. Using a Q-factor model,¹⁸ Stephenson derived three types of news readers--mature readers, non-pleasure readers, and pleasure readers¹⁹--based on participant responses in his study. Play theory of news reading, then views news readers from the mass communications perspective and is useful in its regard for shifting attention on the use of newspapers to the individuals who actually do the reading.

Wilbur Schramm (1949) of the Institute of Communication Research at the University of Illinois described the encoding of news stories in the minds of readers. Remembered by readers as symbols, news events lose their individuality. Readers receive two types of rewards from news reading, Schramm suggested, the pleasurable (immediate reward) and the pragmatic (delayed reward). Sociologists and former journalist,

Robert Ezra Park (1963), however, holds that news has a totally pragmatic interest for readers and is limited to events that bring about sudden change in society. Parks agrees with Schramm, however, that news events survive as symbols of universal human interest.

"Frame Analysis" of News

Other writers (Molotch and Lester, 1974; Darnton, 1975; Phillips, 1976; and Tuchman, 1976) have applied news-as-knowledge theories in studies of how news is selected and defined. Based on ethnographic observations, they maintain that the interpersonal dynamics of a newsroom, as well as the socialization processes of news reporters and editors, contribute to the "frames" or "scripts" into which current events are cast as news. Unfortunately, most of the millions who read newspapers every day probably have little curiosity about and less experience with or understanding of how news is made.

Text Analysis and Newspaper Reading

That cognitive psychologists, reading specialists, and linguists have begun to look at newspaper discourse through the lens of schema theory is no longer in doubt. In the November, 1979 issue of the Journal of Reading, John Guthrie of the International Reading Association devotes his entire "Research" feature to a review of work by Perry Thorndyke (1979). In Thorndyke's study, readers were compared on free recall and average time reading for a news story presented in its original form and in a condensed version. Thorndyke predicted that a higher percentage of the condensed version would be recalled and that the condensed version would be read more slowly in terms of the amount of time required for each proposition contained in the text. Both predictions were confirmed.

To test a second prediction--that some stories are best comprehended and remembered with one type of cognitive structure while others are more easily understood with another--Thorndyke conducted a second study. Two news stories were presented in both a condensed and a narrative, chronological version. Readers recalled one story better in the narrative form (33%) than in the condensed form (23%), while the other news story was recalled better in the condensed (27%) than in the narrative (19%). Based on these results, Thorndyke suggested that readers use a narrative schema when written material is in narrative or chronological form, while they use a "network structure" schema when content is similar to an interrelated network as in news structure.

Other support for schematic analysis of newspaper text from David Rumelhart (1981) and Marilyn Adams and Bertram Bruce (1982) has appeared in International Reading Association publications. Noted psycholinguist Frank Smith (1982) has also speculated on the conventions of a newspaper genre. Smith has pondered the question of what expectations both writers and readers bring to the writing and reading of newspaper text.

The icing on the cake, so to speak, seems to have arrived in the form of an application of discourse analysis to the structure of news by theorist Tuen A. van Dijk (1983). Writing in the Journal of Communication, van Dijk postulates a theory of media discourse. He contends that an overall goal for reading resides in the "cognitive control system" of the reader, regulating the flow of information between short-term and long-term memory. Readers "bring to the text" some general knowledge about a particular newspaper and its dominant views as well as some semantic information and expectations about the type of articles appearing in particular sections of that newspaper. "Episodic memory" is activated in news reading to remind the reader of information about recent events. Also, van Dijk supposes, news readers bring a general knowledge schema

about the format of news discourse.

After a brief review of studies in stylistic analysis of newspaper text--lexical items, type and length of sentences, style, register--van Dijk explains that local coherence in news discourse is achieved through "specification." A fact is described and details or particulars follow: general toward particular. A macroproposition achieves global coherence and semantic unity throughout.

In news discourse, the headlines, the lead, and any first thematic sentences are crucial since they alert the reader's attention for a decision to read or not to read. Also, they activate relevant knowledge from memory and form a macrostructure which controls understanding of the following text. The headlines and the lead, therefore, serve as "a higher level category" of summary and introduction.

Van Dijk goes on to propose a three-leveled structure of news discourse: 1) summary/introduction, 2) episodes, and 3) comments.²⁰ "Presentational" structures, he suggests, are obvious properties in news discourse (page number, position on page, size, printing type, number of columns), which form a sort of rhetorical "performance" or "delivery" function. These semiotic signals are an "intertextual macrostructure" that is mediated by nonverbal information in a newspaper. As would be expected, van Dijk calls for empirical research to reveal the implications of the structure for comprehension and recall. That research, perhaps, is where we go from here.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Throughout our survey, geographic locations and affiliations of researchers have been noted, if not emphasized. Based on the wide range of representation, there are personnel from a variety of disciplines who have spent time pondering, surveying, and documenting the reading of newspapers. And indeed, newspaper reading, for many is a national past time.

Based on our discussion of "readability studies," several dimensions of future research should be noted. Typographic studies on the print characters and typefaces used in electronic technologies should be encouraged and reported to the public at large, as should studies in the health issues stemming from prolonged work at at cathode-ray video display terminals. Sociologists and communications scholars should investigate changes in interpersonal stress dynamics fostered by use, overuse, and abuse of new communications capabilities. For the newspaper industry, these suggestions relate directly to producers and users of videotex "electronic information service" channels both presently operating and expanding in the future.

As for "readership" study, no doubt the newspaper industry will continue to seek out its customer. Unfortunately, far too much emphasis in readership research of the past has done just that: looked for the buyer and nothing more. Readership researchers should make the effort to be sure that time, energy, and funding spent on recording reader habits and attitudes is fully applied and not merely totaled in dollars and cents at the newsstand.

Since readership research will probably continue to be the first to get funded, newspaper industry officials should strive for increased sharing of results with the general public and the communities in which they view themselves as "corporate citizens." If promotion of Newspaper in Education

programs is to continue, journalists and newspaper executives might serve their own objectives well by inviting researchers and practitioners from the teaching field to join in a mutual sharing of insights. If reading specialists and teachers in other areas of elementary, secondary, and adult education are to continue using newspapers as texts for classroom activities, then they too should support and participate in the exchange of ideas between journalism and education. And, finally, if schools of education throughout the United States are to continue sponsoring courses on the use of print media for instructional purposes, then the wealth of research from several disciplines should be included in the teacher training curriculum so that educators who use the newspaper with their students can plan teaching strategies which are grounded in the findings of those who have researched and analyzed newspaper reading itself.

NOTES

(1) Linda Skover, "Newspaper in Education: Past and Future," Editor and Publisher, (February 19, 1983), p. 28. The New York Times College and School Services developed as a result of Mrs. Sulzberger's efforts. Her work is often cited as the first step toward the development of the modern Newspaper in Education concept.

(2) Rodolfo N. Slacido, Hadley Read, James F. Evans, and Ana C. Kong, "A Broader Look at Legibility," Journalism Quarterly (1972), p. 289. Legibility criteria include speed of reading, the distance threshold, eye span, illumination threshold, focus threshold, fatigue, number of eye movements, reading rhythm, a legibility coefficient, specific legibility, and aesthetic merit.

(3) Miles Tinker, Legibility of Print (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1963), p. 186.

(4) Tinker, p. 190. Tinker states three reasons for superior legibility of lower case in headlines: (1) since the printing surface required for upper-case headlines is much greater than in lower-case in the same point size, more fixation pauses per headline are required to read upper-case, (2) word form is more characteristic when words are printed in lower-case than in all capitals, and (3) reading habits favor lower case since almost all reading is not with material printed in lower case.

(5) Percy H. Tannenbaum, Harvey K. Jacobson, and Eleanor I. Norris, "An Experimental Investigation of Type-face Connotations," Journalism Quarterly, (1964), p. 67. The families of type used were Bondoni and Garamond of the two serif race and Spartan and Kabel of the sans serif race.

(6) Tannenbaum, et al., p. 67. Semantic differential items used in the study were the following: evaluation: pleasant/unpleasant, good/bad, beautiful/ugly; potency: rugged/delicate, strong/weak, masculine/feminine; activity: active/passive, fast/slow, young/old; complexity: plain/fancy, simple/complex; physical: large/small, angular/rounded.

(7) Arthur T. Turnbull and Russell N. Baird, The Graphics of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), p. 202. Newspaper design has been so different from all other printed literature that even a different term, "makeup," has been used to describe the process of putting together newspaper pages.

(8) Chic Bain and David Weaver, "Newspaper Design and Newspaper Readership" (ERIC ED 175 047), p. 3. Bain and Weaver cite The Chicago Daily News as an example of a newspaper that underwent a major design overhaul without seeking the preferences of its readers.

(9) Bain and Weaver, p. 424. To "jump" means "to carry over a portion of a news story from one page to another."

(10) Theresa G. Siskind, "The Effect of Newspaper Design on Reader Preferences," Journalism Quarterly, vol 56, p. 55. The models for Siskind's newspaper design types were the following: (1) average traditional: The Wall Street Journal, (2) well-designed traditional: a prototype designed by Jeffery Hartenfield, (3) average contemporary: The Columbia South Carolina State, and (4) well-designed contemporary: a prototype designed by Paul Back, art design director of Newsday.

(11) Gerald C. Stone, John C. Schweitzer, and David Weaver. The first ten features coded in design analysis of each newspaper were the following: (1) uses no vertical column rules, (2) longest page one headline is at least half of page width, (3) uses captions with pictures, (4) occasionally boxes stories, (5) uses kickers or overlines on heads, (6) op-ed page is less than one-fourth ads, (7) uses spot color, (8) uses at least two editorial cartoons, (9) uses occasional hoods on headlines, (10) doesn't use Roman or Old English type style on flag.

(12) James Abbott, "Can You Read Readability Studies?," NIE Information Service, Berkley-Small, Inc., Mobile, Alabama, February, 1983.

(13) Newspaper in Education is a nationwide network of educational services programs, coordinated by the American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation.

(14) Judee K. Burgoon and Michael Burgoon, "Predictors of Newspaper Readership," Journalism Quarterly, vol 57, Winter, 1979, p. 589.

(15) The Newspaper Readership Project began as a cooperative effort of the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the Newspaper Advertising Bureau in 1977.

(16) Anderson studied student populations in high schools located in San Francisco, California, and in Richmond, Virginia.

(17) The figure of two million dollars is reported by the Public Affairs Department of USA Today in Washington, D.C.

(18) William Stephenson, The Play Theory of Mass Communications (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 150.

(19) Stephenson, p. 151.

(20) Tuen van Dijk, "Discourse Analysis: Its Development and Application to the Structure of News," Journal of Communication, 33, Spring, 1983, p. 42.

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